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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this program was to discover and to help bring about a more effective articulation between anthropologists and the research and development needs of the schools. To that end, a number of crucial activities were undertaken coincident with the creation of university-based centers. A national conference was organized to assess the current status of anthropological method and theory and the effect on future research in school settings. Then, a series of four research training programs for school personnel in selected ethnographic techniques for observation and analysis of classroom behavior were developed (Guided Self-Analysis by T.W. Parsons). The newly created Council on Anthropology and Education organized five symposia on: research theory and method, cognitive and linguistic studies, curriculum development, and, the socio-cultural context of education. A national roster of educational research anthropologists was completed, and, the development of a bibliography of research studies was assumed by Murray Wax (Wenner-Gren Foundation Grant). Abstracts of selected papers have been included, however, the proceedings of the conference will be published later by University Microfilms. (SBE)

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FINAL REPORT

Contract No. OEC-0-8-071125-1751 (010)

RESEARCH CENTER IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION

(PROGRAM IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND EDUCATION)

The Officers and Board,
The American Anthropological Association
1703 New Hampshire Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20009

March 1970

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

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SUMMARY

The American Anthropological Association undertook through this Program to seek out and initiate activities which would promise to bring about more effective articulations between the anthropological community and other educators. To these purposes seven main activities were undertaken over two years:

1. The American Anthropological Association National Conference on Anthropology and Education convened an invited group of 50 anthropologists and others in May 1968; the conference Proceedings, a useful measure of the state of anthropological theory and method as these bear on educational research and development, has been edited under other funding and is in press.

2. Program staff and consultants, in consultation with officers of the National Council for the Social Studies and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, designed a series of four pre-conference research training sessions in selected ethnographic procedures; the training sessions are currently underway under NCSS auspices.

3. The Program was instrumental, over seven months beginning in November 1968, in organizing a national professional group, the Council on Anthropology and Education, a body of some 1,575 anthropologists in educational research and development; Program staff served as a secretariat to the new group in the early critical months, and the group is now autonomous, organized and fully in operation.

4. In spring 1969, the Program assisted the new Council in organizing a series of five symposia on educational research and development by anthropologists, later presented on the program of the 1969 Annual Meetings of the American Anthropological Association.

5. In spring 1969, Program staff, on behalf of the new Council, designed a set of two national planning activities to generate long-term strategies for the optimum articulation of members of the anthropological profession with, respectively,

the personnel of the schools and other educational researchers; these parallel planning activities, under separate funding, are currently underway.

6. In spring 1969 Program staff, building on efforts from the beginning of the Program, completed a national roster of anthropologists with experience and competence in or directly related to educational research and development; currently these data are in the hands of the new Council.

7. Program staff and consultants, intermittently throughout the two years, undertook explorations toward the creation of some series of new university-based centers for educational research and development by anthropologists; resulting efforts to these ends are known currently to be underway, at the State University of New York at Buffalo and at the University of California at Berkeley.

These various activities having been initiated and all having been devolved into ongoing, autonomous activities, the Program staff recommended to the Officers, Board, and Fellows of the American Anthropological Association that its "seeding" efforts should be deemed completed.

I. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the American Anthropological Association in undertaking this Program has been to discover and to help bring about a more effective articulation between anthropologists and the research and development needs and potential needs of the schools. To that end, the Association undertook by its initial proposal to "begin a number of crucial activities coincident with the creation of a Center for Anthropology and Education." The Program is known within the anthropological community as the "Program in Anthropology and Education." At the Association's 67th Annual Meeting, November 21-23, 1968, partially as a result of Program initiatives and support, events were set in motion which created a national organization of over 1,500 anthropologists, the "Council on Anthropology and Education." Thereafter, the Council was the vehicle through which the Program purposes were pursued and in large measure realized.

The Association Officers and Executive Board viewed these Association activities as a seeding operation. Thus, the Officers and Board determined that any future center or centers for anthropological research in education would be located on university campuses; and thus the Council on Anthropology and Education is now seen as an autonomous organization, with close ties to the Association as yet not formally defined.

This report will, thus, be organized according to the two Program phases which emerged: an early phase, September 1, 1967 to November 20, 1968; and the later Council-oriented phase, November 21, 1968 to the conclusion of Program activities under this grant, June 30, 1969.

At a more specific level of objective, the Association initially undertook, through the Program, a series of activities: "Under the direction of a professional anthropologist, a major conference will be held on Anthropology and Education, with the proceedings to be published. Efforts will be made through travel, correspondence, attendance at meetings, and the organization of regional conferences, to stimulate an increased amount of research."

Further, the projected national conference on Anthropology and Education was held May 9-12, 1968. This conference proposed that the

Program undertake two specific tasks: (1) to formulate a bibliography of source materials in the field of anthropology and education; (2) to develop plans to give concentrated research training in the field of anthropology and education.

Thus, this report is organized, under each of the two phases, topically:

1. Conferences

2. Initiation of research and development programs and training

The Principal Investigators under this Program were Charles Frantz (September 1, 1967 to June 30, 1968) and Frederick O. Gearing (July 1, 1968 to June 30, 1969). The principal non-clerical member of the Program staff throughout was Rebecca C. Test.

The activities of the Program were guided from October 4, 1968 to February 7, 1969 by a Steering Committee, as follows:

Conrad Arensberg, Columbia University
Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania
Solon Kimball, chairman, University of Florida
George Spindler, Stanford University
Robert Textor, Stanford University
Sherwood Washburn, University of California, Berkeley

The Council on Anthropology and Education emerged, beginning in November 1968. On February 5, 1969 the election of eight members of its Steering Committee was completed and on February 7, 1969 those elected members assumed office and appointed additional, ex officio members. The Council Steering Committee then assumed, according to prior agreement, the functions of the original Committee. The Council Steering Committee currently consists of the following elected members:

Lambros Comitas, Columbia University
Edward Dozier, University of Minnesota
Frederick O. Gearing, State University of New York at Buffalo
Nancie S. Gonzalez, University of Iowa
James Hirabayashi, San Francisco State College
John Singleton, University of Pittsburgh
Murray Wax, chairman, University of Kansas
Harry F. Wolcott, vice-chairman, University of Oregon

Ex officio members of the Steering Committee are:

Jacquetta H. Burnett, University of Illinois
Anthony Lauria, University of Puerto Rico
Diane Lewis, San Francisco State College
Nancy Modiano, Education Study Center (Washington, D. C.)
Gwen Neville, University of Florida
Peter Sindell, McGill University
Edward Storey, Southeastern Regional Laboratory

At the request, November 25, 1969, of the President of the American Anthropological Association, Dr. George M. Foster, Frederick O. Gearing has drawn upon reports and documents earlier submitted to the Association by the two Program Directors and has prepared this Final Report for review by the Association Officers and Board.

II. RESULTS
September 1, 1967-November 20, 1968

Conferences

The first principal focus of efforts during the Program's initial phase was the organization of the American Anthropological Association National Conference on Anthropology and Education. It was planned that this Conference serve as an initial assessment of the current status of anthropological method and theory as these will bear on future research by anthropologists in school settings at home and abroad.

An early conference in the fall of 1968, called under other auspices by the then Executive Secretary of the Association and Program Director, Charles Frantz, became the occasion for initial discussion and planning of the National Conference; a conference organization committee was then appointed consisting of:

Malcolm Collier
Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, Chicago

Charles Frantz (Principal Investigator)
American Anthropological Association

Frederick O. Gearing, chairman
University of California, Riverside

Murray Wax
University of Kansas

The American Anthropological Association National Conference on Anthropology and Education was convened May 9-12, 1968, in Miami Beach, Florida. Invited papers were presented by:

Daniel G. Freedman, University of Chicago
Frederick O. Gearing, University of California, Riverside
John C. Holt, Boston, Massachusetts
Dell Hymes, University of Pennsylvania
Vera John, Yeshiva University

Martin Orans, University of California, Riverside
Theodore Parsons, University of California, Berkeley
Sherwood Washburn, University of California, Berkeley
Murray Wax (with Rosalie Wax), University of Kansas

A panel of respondents was composed of:

B. B. Khleif, University of New Hampshire
Solon Kimball, University of Florida
Eleanor Leacock, Polytechnic Institute of Brooklyn
Robert Textor, Stanford University
Harry Wolcott, University of Oregon

In addition, 30 other persons attended the Conference and participated in the discussions, including George Carnett, U. S. Office of Education, the Project Officer for this Program.

A first-draft version of the Conference Proceedings was distributed to all Conference participants and was delivered to the American Anthropological Association's Officers and Executive Board and national office.

An edited, microfilm publication of the Conference Proceedings is currently in preparation with supplementary funds made available by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, the Proceedings to be published by University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan, and will be thereby be made available to libraries and interested persons.

Abstracts of selected papers follow.

Studies of the Biological Bases of Behavior as These Affect Education

Washburn, Sherwood L. (California, Berkeley)
Abstract: On the Importance of the Study of Primate Behavior for Anthropologists.

Studies of the behavior of non-human primates are examined, that Homo sapiens might be seen in a better perspective. In the same way that one culture is better understood by comparison to another, the bio-social nature of man can be brought into perspective by comparison to monkeys and apes. From field observations of primate behavior, comparisons, and experiments, some generalizations may be derived with implications for the understanding of human behavior:

> "Through evolution each species is so constituted that it easily learns the necessary adaptive behaviors.
>
> "The behaviors are pleasurable to the members of the species and are practiced in play.
>
> "Fears are easily learned and hard to extinguish. This is highly adaptive, provided the fear-producing situation is correctly appraised.
>
> "Exploration takes place primarily when animals are well fed and secure.
>
> "Juveniles see all aspects of adult life and practice all phases of life.
>
> "Late juvenile and subadult males cause more disruption than any other class of individuals.
>
> "Early experience is so important in forming the basis for abilities that the interaction of the developing individual with the environment at this time may have permanent consequences.
>
> "This is not . . . a thorough catalog of possible generalization and it should be stressed that these are not rigid conclusions or laws. They are intended to be topics which are worth discussing to determine what kinds of additional information is needed if they are to be applied to man . . . ."

In research and teaching, the study of social systems of monkeys and apes has three advantages over the study of human social

systems: all the behavior of the animals is seen in full view; the animal group is small enough so that much of them can be studied while interacting; the observations can be tested through experiments.

Language is man's most important adaptive ability, made possible by evolutionary changes in the brain. The contrasts between language and non-linguistic systems point to an important principle, that the adaptation of man depends upon his ability to name, thus to remember the past and project the future.

Sleep is one behavior the comparative study of which develops an awareness of what it is to be human. Other types of behavior offer analogous opportunities for comparative study: play groups, communication, dominance, bluffing, aggression, grooming, mating, escape patterns, feeding patterns, breakdown of the social order.

The comparative study of non-human primates increases the awareness of the interrelatedness of biology and the social system. Used in education it might help the students to this type of awareness, substituting the observation of life for the examination of words and thereby help produce men better adapted to problems of life.

Studies of Dominant American Culture as That Affects Education

Holt, John C. (Boston, Massachusetts)
Abstract: Culture Against Man?

A culture can be inimical to its members and hamper their growth.

Kids are being used in schools and elsewhere by other people for purposes not their own--and that evokes rage and anger.

From an existentialist-humanist orientation one sees "obedience as the greatest multiplier of evil." The problem therefore is not how we can protect society against the "bad nature" of man, but how man can be protected from his institutions. The questions to be answered are: Is this culture good for its members? Is it helping them to grow? The questions apply to the cultures of the schools.

Self-awareness is an important part of intelligence and education. Self-awareness assists in bringing about improved correspondence between a person's non-verbal mental map of the world and his verbal model. The main objection to conventional education is that it tends to fill the heads of young people with words, whereas it ought to be bringing about a greater degree of correspondence between the student's verbal and non-verbal models. What is being done with children in schools is somewhat similar to what is being done in the treatment of schizophrenics: both are based upon the denial of experience. Even modern, progressive schools deny the child's experience.

Wax, Murray and Rosalie (Kansas)
Abstract: Great Tradition, Little Tradition, and Formal Education.

In a three-year ethnographic study carried out in the U. S. government schools for the Oglala Sioux of the Pine Ridge Reservation, the principle defense mechanism of the Indian students against the onslaught of Anglo culture is found to be withdrawal--the outward manifestation of a highly cohesive society created by Sioux children within the formal structure of the school. The Anglo administrators and teachers looked upon the Sioux children as members of an inferior caste and saw their task as one of helping their pupils become members of the superior caste. These educators believed the minds of their Indian pupils to be empty vessels to be filled with Anglo culture. In this "Vacuum Ideology," the experiential background of a member of a differing culture is viewed as deficient insofar as it is different from that of an urban, middle-class, white, Protestant.

Classrooms were observed for months, and interviews were carried out with Indian parents and children, Anglo administrators and educational experts. The relation of the Indians to the reservation teachers and administrators as representatives of the greater society was studied.

In general, research literature on schools or education appears both pseudo-empirical and pseudo-theoretical. Educational researchers have assumed that schools are primarily agencies of formal education (rather than social institutions), that pupils are isolated individuals (rather than social beings), that formal education is synonymous with education, and that the principle task of the teacher is to educate--but researchers have not as a rule observed the social processes actually occurring in the schools; there is no solid body of ethnographic data on the schools.

Moreover, the theoretical literature on education seems to lack a sense of history and a feeling for comparison.

Many American general educational objectives may also be seen as ruthless attacks on the solidarity, self-respect, and even existence of ethnic and lower-class communities. Individualistic achievement, based on the notion that the school population is an aggregate of social atoms, is one such objective. But in the normative system of a folk community this is grossly immoral behavior. That educators and educational researchers have not been aware of this can only be explained as "selective inattention."

American schools in general are rarely studied as social systems. The research tasks of the educational psychologist, for example, are prescribed by the bureaucracy. Educational sociologists have assumed that the school is the institution having education as its primary function and have thereby transformed the scientific problem of the nature of the school into the problem of evaluating particular educational functions. Learning theory and structural-functional theory could be utilized in the empirical study of schools, but seldom have been. Educationally focused community studies tend to orient research around ideology, rather than actual behavior.

In the contemporary world, the dissemination of formal education has become an international mission activity. It is a transformation of such magnitude that it can be thought of as a revolution. But if the U. S. educational system is loaded with ideological irrelevancies which make it unsuited to our own ethnic and lower-class populations, then what happens when it is applied elsewhere? One ideological tenet of American formal education which hampers adjustment of peoples to the system is the assumption that each child is identified with a unique nuclear family and exists in an environment of nuclear families. This tenet interferes with fitting the educational establishment into a society with extended families and elaborate kinship systems. The practice of organizing schools around the values of individual achievement and personal benefit tends to make diffusion of the system unlikely. This practice is unrealistic in light of historical and comparative experience, which indicates that the Great Traditional knowledge which formal education attempts to transmit is disseminated within a population best, and perhaps only, when it is associated with a social movement having superpersonal goals.

Researchers have focused on curricularly given tasks, and educational critics have focused on Great Traditional knowledge, and no one has examined the impact of formal educational institutions on Little Traditional processes of child rearing. The process of

formal schooling seems to be largely the struggle to substitute one kind of traditional knowledge for another. It may be that the current "inefficiencies" of our "rational" school system provide the only real opportunities for a child to develop such human qualities as proper role behavior. In any environment children are experiencing and learning. What they learn is a selection from a vast possible range. A child having one kind of experience cannot be having another.

Linguistic Studies in Education

John, Vera (Yeshiva)
Abstract: Language and Education--the Challenge of Pluralism

The effects of the present language curriculum in schools, with its emphasis on correctness, is one of the main destroyers of child identity.

Language socialization takes place in early childhood in the home. Despite the considerable amount of research done on the differences in this socialization among middle-class and low-income homes, we still understand little of language socialization. Investigation must be refocused on communicative "competence" as defined by Hymes, and study of the language of children both at home and in the school is required.

Language is socially acquired and practiced, thus no panacea will be found in automated teaching, but rather in an increase in living, verbal dialog.

These views raise demands for new educational models, and the model of educational pluralism is suggested, in which is reflected the varying needs of the participants as they themselves know these needs.

Orans, Martin (California, Riverside)

Abstract: The Santal, The Negro, and the Rank Concession Syndrome.

The purposeful use by some black reform activists of "correct" non-ghetto speech and the equally purposeful, recent use by other activists of ghetto dialect provide an example of a wider range of reform behavior by black activists in the schools and the larger society. Such shifting and sometimes contradictory activities are the result of the conflicting demands of two paths to higher status, "emulation" and "solidarity."

The question is raised: whether and in what ways one theoretical model--the Rank Concession Syndrome--developed in a study of the historical experience of a tribal group in India, the Santal, makes sense when applied to the historical experience of the American Negro from Reconstruction to the present. The theoretical framework is found to be applicable, though one major theoretical modification is found to be necessary.

The historical experience of the Santal suggests certain processes possibly applicable to all encysted societies which have conceded rank to a dominant surrounding society. Rank concession means the acceptance of social inferiority: this implies acceptance of the rank attributes of the superior society, and this generates a tendency to emulate, to imitate the behavior of members of the dominant society. For members of the encysted society, one path to higher rank is economic. This enforces the tendency to imitate and also tends to weaken solidarity within the encysted society since emulative imitation is likely to be more intense among those segments of the encysted society with relatively superior economic status.

Another path to higher rank, however, is political, and this requires solidarity. Success in the political rank path promises rewards to all.

The two paths to higher rank, economic and political, thus generate conflicting demands, for emulation and solidarity respectively. The emulation-solidarity conflict is likely to be particularly pronounced in the course of a shift by the encysted society from a dominantly economic to a dominantly political rank path.

The conflict between emulation and solidarity has characteristic cultural consequences--indigenous claims, syncretism, innovative

combination. All may be understood as attempts to transform traits acquired through emulation into distinctive ones, or by claiming that they are actually indigenous. Cultural movements arising out of the emulation-solidarity conflict also seize on actual distinctive traits, often of low rank value in the dominant society, and emphasize them, or invent new distinctive characteristics. Such cultural creativity is likely to develop a momentum of its own.

Consideration of the historical experience of American Negroes since Reconstruction by means of an overview of Negro ideologists and associated movements, including contemporary black nationalism, indicates that the theoretical framework generally accounts for the larger general trends. The most significant disjunction seems to be that the successes of the black "Nation of Islam" shows that it is possible to develop a profoundly separatist, anti-acculturative, solidarity movement in the absence of any political program whatsoever. The driving force here seems to be the struggle for "identity." This conflict, growing out of the self hatred which accompanies rank concession, may be part of the drive of all nationalistic movements.

Parsons, Theodore W. (California, Berkeley)
Abstract: Psycho-Cultural Determinants of Teaching Behavior: A Southwestern Example.

Where teachers are of the dominant ethnic group and some students are of a minority ethnic population, teachers are psychologically compelled, in order to maintain their own sense of identity, to view those students invidiously. They thereby reenact and help recreate in the classroom a microcosm of the caste system in the larger society.

In the situation in which the individual teacher perceives the existence of social and cultural differentiation, he has the most limited freedom to act. The constraints on him derive from the psychological reality of his own perceptions of the social world and the extent to which these form the basis for his conception of self. That is, teachers may be psychologically dependent upon the continued perception of pupil differences because these provide the dimension through which the teacher transacts his own concept of self. He is not free to revise his perceptions of others or of self when they are part of a total psycho-cultural system within which the whole world has meaning, and when he must strive continuously to maintain the continuity and balance of that

system. The interpretation of field data on an Anglo/Mexican-American community of the southwest is guided by the theoretical principles of mazeway, cognitive consistency, and the self-other equation.

Men acquire the experiences represented in their mazeways (cognitive system) in the course of social interaction. Interacting individuals tend to develop highly equivalent representations of their joint experiences, and the resulting structure of equivalent mazeways transacted by the members of an interacting group can be called culture. Men strive for maximum cognitive consonance, a condition in which individual mazeways are internally consistent. Culture is both an expression and a consequence of the human need for cognitive consistency--in striving for mazeway consistency, the individual also strives to achieve equivalency between his own mazeway and those of others with whom he interacts, motivating him to maintain the stable social relations within which the concept of self is transacted. The self-other equation refers to the dependency of the concept of self upon the reciprocal definition of, and relationship to, others; the individual conceives of self as he is able to conceive of others in relation to self. The image of self is usually equivalent to that of "like others" or reciprocal image of "unlike others."

A three-year field study of an Anglo/Mexican-American community in the southwest was carried out to inquire into the persistent pattern of ethnic cleavage which characterized such communities. The ethnically differentiated social structure of this village is supported by mutually reinforcing images and expectations by means of which Anglos and Mexicans define the character of, and organize their perceptions of and behaviors toward, members of the other group. These patterned beliefs constitute the specifics of a system of self-other equations.

In the school, with an all-Anglo staff, verbal expression of ethnic beliefs is less open than in the general community. But teachers structure classroom groupings, sequence the instruction, and both verbally and symbolically demonstrate--to themselves, the school population, and the community--the validity of those beliefs and the appropriateness of their own patterned adaptive responses.

The data provide a clear illustration of the relationship between psycho-cultural factors and teaching behaviors. Village teachers are deeply imbedded in a network of out-of-school social relationships through which they transact and maintain consistent and integrated concepts of self and world. In striving to maintain

cognitive consonance, and therefore a secure self, the village teacher is psychologically and culturally constrained to structure his perceptions of and orientations toward his pupils in ways which are consistent with the world as he "knows" it to be.

The Initiation of Research and Development Programs and Training

The second principal effort of Program staff and consultants in this first phase was to develop a series of pre-conference research training programs in selected ethnographic techniques, designed to assist teachers and other school personnel in the observation and analysis of classroom behavior. The ethnographic procedures involved had been developed by the anthropologist Theodore W. Parsons (School of Education, University of California, Berkeley) and are embodied in a series of coding and analysis schedules termed by him "Guided Self-Analysis."

Program staff, in consultation with staff of the National Council for the Social Studies and the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development and working principally with Parsons, developed a proposal for a "Pre-Conference Research Training Program on the Observation and Analysis of Classroom Behavior," a series of four four-day training conferences to precede regional and national meetings of NCSS and ASCD during the 1969-70 year.

The pre-conference training program had, besides the evident purpose of serving the pragmatic needs of the members of the two organizations, two other purposes: to examine the prospects, through the ethnographic techniques in question and through the efforts of persons not primarily researchers, of generating highly replicable ethnographic data useful to wider research purposes; second, to disseminate to in-school personnel some sense of the special interests and self-imposed constraints of researchers, thereby to enable those in-school personnel to work more effectively with and to better exploit the efforts of research persons.

The ethnographic techniques in question are based on theories of cognitive dissonance and cultural patterning. The techniques in application involve the use of videotaped records of classroom behavior. Such recorded behavior is subjected to a series of viewings; each viewing is sharply focused by a coding task followed by programmed analysis of the coded results; each analysis, in turn, picks up previous analyses, yielding cumulatively a result which reasonably reflects the interactional complexity of any real classroom situation. Specifically, in the series of structured observations and analyses at issue, focus is directed respectively to: types of questions asked by teachers, types of teacher responses, patterns of teacher talk, patterns of teacher-student talk, use and non-use of student experience, and cognitive levels of entailed thought.

The series of training conferences was formally proposed by NCSS and funded by the U. S. Office of Education, and training sessions (at

Grand Rapids, Michigan; Houston, Texas; San Francisco, California; and Lake Kiamesha, New York) have followed. The training conferences proper were not part of this Program and thus are not here reported, but it deserves brief mention that, by evidence now at hand, the Program's initial purposes seem to have been realized: it seems now reasonably apparent that, through instruments such as "Guided Self-Analysis," replicable ethnographic data can be generated by persons not primarily researchers, and that experience with such instruments does concretely convey to persons otherwise unacquainted with formal research some of the self-imposed constraints which research requires. More significantly, the pragmatic needs of members of NCSS and ASCD seem, by mounting evidence, to be powerfully served by the specific ethnographic techniques here at issue: substantial behavioral change by teachers regularly follows upon the self-observation and self-analysis the techniques make possible. As a direct result of the four training sessions, the ethnographic techniques are in current pilot use by school personnel in districts in Iowa and others in Texas and preliminary discussions are underway in a score of other locales across the nation.

As lesser foci of Program energies during this first phase, two activities were initiated.

First, the Program staff began to assemble a roster of anthropologists with experience and interests in the research and development work relevant to general Program purposes. The principal initial effort was a selective recording of information from questionnaire forms returned to the National Science Foundation in connection with their national census of scientific personnel.

Second, there occurred initial planning efforts by staff and consultants bearing on possible university-based center or centers for anthropological research and development activity in education. Conferences were held in Washington, October 10-13, 1968 and November 8-11, 1968; brief consultations were held in Washington, October 1, 9, 14, 15, and elsewhere.

III. RESULTS
November 21, 1968-June 30, 1969

Conferences

The emergence of the Council on Anthropology and Education substantially extended Program activities. Events began November 21, 1968; the Council became in a few weeks a membership organization composed of 1,575 anthropologists, a substantial part of the total discipline in America; over those weeks it formally constituted itself, elected a national Steering Committee, established a series of active Standing Committees, created a constitution and started the process of formal incorporation, organized a series of symposia and its first Membership Meeting, acquired financial support for the 1969-70 year, and generally put itself into full operation. The potential effect of this movement, on the schools and reciprocally on the anthropological discipline itself, appears to be very large.

Under the auspices of the Council and its Standing Committees, five symposia were organized (and subsequent to the close of this Program, presented) for the program of the American Anthropological Association 1969 Meetings. Jacquetta Burnett chaired "Theory and Method in Anthropological Research on Education Organization"; Nancy Modiano chaired "Cognitive and Linguistic Studies"; Belvie Rooks chaired an informal session on Minority Curricula matters; Edward Storey chaired "The Preparation of Educational Materials"; and Murray Wax chaired "The Encounter of Divergent Culture with the Culture of the Schools."

In addition, the Council held its first Annual Membership Meeting during the AAA 1969 Meetings. The Membership Meeting consisted of reports and discussion of the work and plans of the seven Standing Committees.

Selected abstracts of these papers follow.

Council on Anthropology and Education Symposium on Cognitive and Linguistic Studies. Chairman, Nancy Modiano (Education Study Center, Washington).

Glick, Joseph. (Minnesota)
Abstract: Thinking about Thinking: Aspects of Conceptual Organization among the Kpelle of Liberia.

A variety of measures of conceptual organization ranging from anthropologically based techniques to more classical psychological techniques are used both to elicit a number of features of conceptual organization and to map their functional consequences in such areas as memory and learning. The general approach of using "converging operations" is discussed, and some of the difficulties of interpretation of intersecting data are expounded upon. Substantive conclusions, though few, are intriguing. In such measures as "cognitive clustering" many conditions produce no evidence of conceptual organization in memory in categorical terms, while other conditions using this same measure show a good deal of such conceptual organization. Sorting tasks produce different results depending on the number of categories allowed for response and instructional variations. The paper attempts to discuss some of the situational dimensions which serve to determine response variation. The notion of "functional areas" is developed, which, briefly stated, argues that different situations call out different systems of competence, and that these systems may be triggered by situational features.

Gumperz, John J. (California, Berkeley)
Abstract: Social Differences in Verbal Strategies.

Tape-recorded conversations were analyzed using techniques derived from the sociological study of verbal interaction. Groups studied include lower-class black high school students, middle-class encounter groups and academic discussion sessions. It was found that members of different groups use different linguistic devices for the expression of similar social meanings and that these differences relate to the cultural background of speakers and to the interactional norms of the group. The significance of this approach to verbal behavior for our understanding the genesis of social differences in language and of intra-societal communication difficulties is discussed.

Stewart, William A. (Education Study Center, Washington)
Abstract: Afroamerican Linguistic Structure and Style: Implications for Education.

Research on the linguistic structure of Afroamerican English is only now beginning. Traditionally, interest in it has been slight and the very legitimacy of the topic has often been denied by claims that it was merely ordered to Southern white folks' speech. Even now that the topic is recognized as a legitimate one, popular interest has outpaced serious research. Still less has been done in the social sciences with respect to Afroamerican discourse styles and their relationship to ethnic cognitive styles. Some of the basic research in these areas is reviewed and likely trends are pointed out. The implications for educational procedures are assessed and the vulnerability of Afroamerican social science to manipulation and control by racial image makers and politicians is dealt with.

John, Vera. (Yeshiva)
Abstract: Learning Styles among Navajo Children.

The skill with which Navajo children draw, even at a very young age, raises the question of whether or not drawing is more than mere representation. This question is discussed from Bruner's theory of cognitive development, particularly his emphasis on the ikonic stage; the drawings and interviews of Navajo kindergarten children are the primary data for this presentation. The relative roles of language and of graphic representation in thought processes and communication is analyzed.

Swadesh, Evangelina Arana. (Escuela Nacional de Antropologia, Mexico)
Abstract: Learning Styles of Oaxacan Indians.

Participation in the preparation of indegenous community development teacher-agents has brought to light the style and rapidity of learning new material when these include data relevant to Indian cultures. As long as instructional activities take into account aspects of their language and diverse Indian cultures, as variants within the national culture, Indians are able to place their groups in a larger socioeconomic perspective. Although men learn new techniques more rapidly than women, due to their greater contact with mestizo culture, it is the women who are able to effect greater change since they can work directly through existing family structures.

Council on Anthropology and Education Symposium on Theory and Method in Anthropological Research on Education Organization. Chairman, Jacquetta Burnett (Illinois).

Khleif, Bud B. (New Hampshire)
Abstract: Issues in Anthropological Fieldwork in Schools.

Fieldwork in public schools is contrasted with the usual anthropological fieldwork in exotic settings. Among the issues discussed are the following: lack of participation and of culture shock on the part of the participant-observer, taking the language of the schools' inmates and headmen for granted and the researcher's roles, reciprocity and adaptations. In addition to questions of method and their implications, those of "method for what?" are suggested. It is contended that only through viewing the familiar as unfamiliar and through viewing the symbolic system of the literate in light of what is known about the nonliterate could the public school be studied as a microcosm of a multiethnic society; that an ethnography of schooling could be developed; and that such an ethnography could be illuminative of anthropology itself.

Burnett, Jacquetta H. (Illinois)
Abstract: Toward a Theoretical Framework for Conceptualizing the Relation of Schools to Cultural Context.

Schools for many decades have been thought to be monoliths--one supposed basically like the other. While certain features of schools may show remarkable regularity, recent accounts begin to show they are much more variable than past a priori assumptions and research methodologies have allowed researchers to recognize. The culture patterns of schools are comprised in diverse ways; particularly in pluralistic complex cultures, schools stand at the interface of ethnic and cultural groups in that complex setting. With this in mind the paper turns to consider research approaches and methods drawn from anthropology, perhaps, modified somewhat, that genuinely can monitor with sufficient sensitivity the diversity of cultural traditions that can exist in one school. Also discussed are those aspects of anthropological method, rooted in studies of tribal groups and isolable communities, which are poorly suited to this research task. Finally, the challenge of "holistic" perspective and the conceptual problems involved are discussed as these assist in relating school culture to a complex cultural context.

Storey, Edward. (Southeastern Educational Laboratory, Atlanta)
Abstract: System Analysis and the School Superintendency: An Anthropological Perspective.

The school superintendency is considered as both a unit of study and of analysis in an effort to raise a theory of educational organization, especially that of Hillery (1968). Systems concepts are found to be of direct analytic benefit in examining the flow of behavior within the superintendency and a systems analysis is offered. The structural alignment, use of space, differential access to resources within and without the school and mobility pattern of the three groupings which populate the superintendency--staff, student, and surround--are discussed as component features of that local society. The articulation of the school superintendency to extralocal organization, educational and not, is treated. Methodological procedures appropriate to the study of school superintendencies are briefly remarked.

Singleton, John. (Pittsburgh)
Abstract: Cross-Cultural Approaches to Research on Minority Group Education.

From an overview of some recent anthropological research on the complex cultural context of formal education for minority group children and adults in modern societies some strategies for research on minority group education are proposed. Comparative data from Japan and the USA are used to suggest a range of relationships between formal education, minority groups and their national societies.

Hirschberg, Richard I. and Crockett, C. Stanley. (Stanford Research Institute)
Abstract: Nationwide Longitudinal Evaluation of the Follow Through Program: Case Study Component To Determine Community Effects.

Stanford Research Institute is in the second year of a nationwide longitudinal evaluation of the Follow Through program for the U. S. Office of Education. Follow Through seeks to consolidate and extend the beneficial effects of Head Start or other preschool programs, by providing a wide range of continued, intensive experiences and services for a community of students (often exocultured) which would otherwise tend to develop fixed patterns of educational estrangement. The local program usually follows

one of several alternative models derived by program "sponsors"; a heavy component of adult and community involvement is sought. A description is presented of the methods used during the first year of the study to assess the impact of the program on the interrelationship between the community and the classroom (especially in terms of adult links); the results obtained to date are discussed; and plans for succeeding years' research are presented.

Council on Anthropology and Education Experimental Session on the Implications of the Current Ethnic Studies Controversy. Chairman, Belvie Rooks (Federal City College, Washington)

The CAE Minority Curriculum Committee leads an informal seminar to discuss the political and educational implications of the current ethnic studies controversy; specifically, the seminar papers (1) explore, develop and define the questions of relevance as it relates to the emergence of Minority and Ethnic Studies Programs in various colleges and universities, (2) the seminar generates information and ideas regarding curriculum development as it relates to existing and proposed Ethnic Studies Programs. The seminar consists of several student representatives from Ethnic Studies Programs at both Harvard and San Francisco State.

Council on Anthropology and Education Symposium on the Encounter of Divergent Cultures with Cultures of Schools. Chairman, Murray Wax (Kansas).

Talbert, Carol (Washington)
Abstract: A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Spoken Black American English in a Classroom, Related to Pupil Patterns of Centrality and Peripherality.

Based upon an ongoing study of urban Black American elementary school children, this paper discusses the verbal and interactional behavior of a Black American teacher and her first-grade students. The model of codes of spoken Black American English is based upon the patterns of phonic usage elicited in three contexts.

(1) CASUAL: natural speech behaviors, familiar, emotional. (2) SEMI-FORMAL: elicited by minimal pairs, rhyming, reading aloud. (3) FORMAL: informant reads "in his best English," from class textbook. The foregoing are quantitatively related to the amount and type (positive or negative) or teacher-pupil interaction observed in the classroom, e.g., certain (Central) children are continually close to the teacher, engaged in frequent interaction (more positive than negative) in all three code forms; other (peripheral) children engage in infrequent (predominantly negative) interaction of a primarily CASUAL form. Central children are exposed to speech uttered in all code patterns and experience immediate feedback from teacher regarding correctness of form. Peripheral children engage primarily in peer-group conversations, CASUAL in form, during class. Also discussed: the degrees of approximation to SAE forms of the various BAE forms: relation of Message and Receiver to Code form; relevance of findings to "self-fulfilling prophecy" in classroom; relation of age to linguistics hypercorrection; social implications of different codes related to pupil aspiration and self-image; nature of persistence of subcultural behavior patterns.

Warren, Richard L. (Stanford)
Abstract: The School Context of Parent-Teacher Relations: A Study of Cooperation and Conflict between Socializing Agents.

This paper discusses the complexities of parent-teacher relations in terms of interrelated socializing responsibilities and interests. Data from a case study from an elementary school are used to examine both the generalized expectations of teachers and parents toward each other and the range of interpersonal encounters through which such expectations are tested.

Lindquist, Harry (Kansas)
Abstract: Traditional and Modern Chinese Education in a Contemporary Context.

Traditional Chinese education reflected the elitest assumptions of Chinese society. In Taiwan, literacy has become the norm in the younger generation. This paper examines changes and continuity in the assumptions of education in Taiwan and discusses to what extent those assumptions reflect contemporary Taiwanese society. The discontinuities in education are related to problems and contradictions in present-day Taiwan. Finally, curricula--traditional

and modern--are considered in the light of current and future needs of the Republic of China.

Petit, Patrick L. and Wax, Murray L. (Kansas)
Abstract: The Urban School That Receives the Indian Migrant.

This report is on an ethnographic study of a school serving a lower-class area of a southwestern city. Approximately ten per cent of enrollment is American Indian. As an education institution, the school suffers from high rates of turnover of educators and pupils, and correspondingly inadequate financing, irrelevant curriculum. The permanent staff become strongly imbued with an ideology of discipline and cultural missionizing.

Burger, Henry G. (Southwestern Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque)
Abstract: "Ethno-Janus": Employment-Foreseeing Cultural-Heritage Lessons for Navajo Pupils.

To redress Southwestern Amerindians' one-third-less schooling than Anglos, Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory was refining an operantly behavioristic English drill for kindergarten ethnics. In the 20-minute grammar reviewing lessons, the anthropologist was able to have the WASP-ish vocabulary ("blackboard," "skyscraper") replaced with ethnic-heritage words. But the history was not to be an archaic goal: following Marvin Harris's "cultural materialism," the history was reinterpreted for future economic relevance, postulating ethnic specialization not integration. For Navajos, the three selections were (1) the origin of the heavens, reinterpreted to emphasize seasonality and hunting, conservation not pollution; (2) origin of the hogan, refocused toward craftsmanship; (3) the water-bearing snail, rewritten toward irrigation ditching. Tests are designed both of the linguistics, heritage facts, and ethno-economic inclinations, both immediately after each lesson, after re-exposure to the non-Anglo community and, hopefully, later. This approach simultaneously faces backward to history and forward to ethno-economic opportunity, hence is here named "ethno-Janus."

Council on Anthropology and Education Symposium on the Preparation of Educational Materials. Chairman, Edward Storey (Southeastern Educational Laboratory, Atlanta)

King, Tom (California, Los Angeles)
Abstract: Archaeological Materials in Secondary Education.

Direct archaeological research by secondary students, as an example of scientific procedures and as a means of entre into other cultures, is discussed. The potential values and dangers of (1) use of archaeological materials in the classroom and (2) directed excavations by students in archaeological sites are considered relative to both educational and archaeological needs and goals. Examples are cited from two current programs in California.

Bailey, Wilfrid C. and Richburg, J. R. (Georgia)
Abstract: The Anthropology Curriculum Project, University of Georgia.

The Anthropology Curriculum Project, University of Georgia, was funded by the U. S. Office of Education to develop a sequenital curriculum in anthropology for grades 1-7. It was based on the premises that anthropology could be organized as a systematic social science and that elementary school students could learn anthropological concepts. Activities of the project have been threefold. (1) Preparation of curriculum materials began with the development of an outline of basic concepts in anthropology, their review by consultants and the selection of concepts to be used in the units. Teaching units were developed for a sequence from kindergarten to sixth grade and six different units were written for the junior high level. These units were produced through collaboration of anthropologists and educators. (2) Evaluation activities included development of tests to go with the units and research on educational usefulness of the materials, educational methodology and impact of the materials. (3) Popular reaction to the project resulted in dissemination of materials becoming a major activity. Sample sets and teaching sets were made available at cost to all who requested them. In addition, a study was made of the diffusion processes that took place during the course of the project.

Guggenheim, Hans (Massachusetts Institute of Technology)
Abstract: Man: a Course of Study.

A fifth-grade curriculum developed by Education Development Center is based on materials ranging from studies of herring gulls and baboons to those on the Netsilik Eskimos. "Man: a Course of Study" is discussed in terms of the anthropological theories it presents, as well as its impact on the classroom. The discussion covers the following: (1) problems in the development of the course in defining areas in anthropology that are meaningful and relevant to children; problems in maintaining a high level of scholarship and avoiding reductionism and distortion of data through the use of film and other media; (2) evidence gathered from evaluations of the impact of the course on classroom behavior and structure as important for the role of course content in affecting change, thus providing data for the ethnography of the classroom; (3) possible uses of the course for college teaching and for student involvement in the teachings of anthropological materials in elementary schools.

Collier, Malcolm (Anthropology Curriculum Study Project, Chicago)
Abstract: Anthropology in the Pre-Collegiate Curriculum.

Anthropologists are invited to join in this discussion of anthropology in the pre-collegiate curriculum. Since the purpose here is discussion, opening remarks serve as a point of departure, describing briefly some of the variety of experiences in the curriculum development activities of the Anthropology Curriculum Study Project. These include: general response to ACSP activities (response from school people, undergraduates, and college and university anthropologists); reasons for involving high school students actively in social science methodology; ways in which data and methodology of anthropology are seen as useful by teachers (and some possible overexpectations); current school situations affecting all curriculum work and innovation; relevance of some of these points to research in education and to teacher education.

Storey, Edward (Southeastern Educational Laboratory, Atlanta)
Abstract: Anthropology in Pre-School Programs

The use (and misuse) of anthropological findings, concepts, and perspectives in pre-school programs, especially regarding the

preparation of teaching and learning materials, is reported. Attention is called to the increasing opportunity and need for the involvement of anthropologists in these programs, examples of which are described, and in the related area of pre-school teacher preparation. A brief commentary on one pre-school program, concerning rural, isolated pre-school children in Florida and including local pre-school teacher preparation, is also offered.

Hosley, Edward H. (Eastern Oregon)
Abstract: Anthropology in Education: The Preparation of Teachers of Minority Groups.

The annual stream of migrants into portions of Oregon has resulted in concentrations of Mexican-American children in the schools, which are often staffed by teachers who neither appreciate nor understand the special needs and cultural and ethnic backgrounds of such students. The recognition of the need for anthropologically oriented teachers has led to the inauguration of a special program at Eastern Oregon College, culminating in the MAT degree. In addition to special emphases upon teaching English as a foreign language, anthropology, and media, the candidates prepare ethnically suitable teaching materials as part of their thesis requirements. The need for increasing the significance of the role played by anthropology, and anthropologists, in teacher preparation is discussed, not only with respect to the preparation of teachers of minority groups, but also with respect to teacher training in general. Some ways of achieving these aims are proposed.

The Initiation of Research and Development Programs and Training

During the second phase of the Program, staff and consultant energies were almost fully devoted to the development of the Council on Anthropology and Education, seen as a vehicle to realize the overriding Program purpose of stimulating research and development efforts by anthropologists in school settings, here and abroad.

The events were put in motion during the 67th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November 1968. Because of the potential significance of the Council, those early events are here recorded in detail, as originally put down in a memorandum to the Association President:

"The events to be described spontaneously emerged out of an action by the AAA Program in Anthropology and Education. That Program (AAA/PAE) was by action of the Association initiated September 1, 1967, 'to stimulate and coordinate research on problems related to schools, education, and the transmission of knowledge, values, and skills' (initial proposal, May 1, 1967). Pursuant to that charter, the current AAA/PAE staff arranged, at the 67th Annual Meeting of the AAA, an informal working-dinner, Thursday, November 21, mainly to allow those Fellows and Members who are engaged in behavioral research and research-related activities in formal education settings an occasion to meet with the Steering Committee and staff and with each other. Approximately 120 Fellows, Members, and students gathered. The group, so gathered, initiated a series of actions over the next days, formally reported here in some detail for your information and for the record.

"Chronologically:

"1. Thursday evening, November 21 meeting. At that initial dinner session, after brief mention by Solon Kimball of the general reasons-for-being of AAA/PAE and its possible services to Fellows, Members, and students, it appeared that the members of the group, in general discussion, became newly aware of the wide array of research and development interests among Fellows, Members, and students as represented in the room and of the perhaps surprising quantity and quality of those research and development interests among Fellows, Members, and students generally. Out of this sense of active general interest, it was suggested from the floor that a second meeting be called; this was arranged for the following noon hour.

"2. Friday, noon, November 22 meeting. Approximately 100 persons participated in this noon-hour meeting; of these perhaps one-fourth had not been present at the Thursday session. Six actions were taken:

(1) A group of AAA Fellows and Members, and students, was formally constituted, the 'Ad Hoc Group in Anthropology and Education.'

(2) The AAA/PAE staff was asked and agreed (per the Director) temporarily to serve as a secretariat to the new Ad Hoc Group.

(3) The AAA/PAE Steering Committee was designated, subject to their individual willingness to serve, as a temporary Steering Committee for the Ad Hoc Group, charged solely with arranging for the election of a permanent Steering Committee, with the assistance of the AAA/PAE staff as secretariat; all later agreed to serve.

(4) The Ad Hoc Group established in principle the need immediately to create a series of working committees from among the group.

(5) The Ad Hoc Group chose a site for a running conference over the next 24 hours to work out further organizational and substantive details.

(6) A third meeting was called for the subsequent noon hour.

"3. Running Conference Friday noon to Saturday noon November 22-23. This running conference was informal, and of course was complex as to the kinds and amounts of participation; it thus defies economic description. Out of it emerged an agenda for the subsequent meeting Saturday noon (see below). It was also the scene of newly initiated conversations as between the Ad Hoc Group and the minority caucus of Fellows, Members, and students, which had, as is known generally, independently formed . . . . Conversations were opened during that noon-to-noon running conference. These were candid and they eventuated happily: the minority caucus formally decided that relevant members should join the Ad Hoc Group and from these the caucus formed a working committee of the Ad Hoc Group to deal with 'research and development in minority curricula improvement,' pre-school to graduate school in scope, but with primary emphasis on higher education.

"4. Saturday noon, November 23 meeting. More than 120 persons gathered, virtually all of whom had been present at one of the earlier two sessions. The Group took the following six actions.

(1) Guidelines were generated, as directives for the temporary Steering Committee, to be followed in formally constituting the membership of the Ad Hoc Group and in electing its permanent Steering Committee; the temporary Steering Committee, with the assistance of the AAA/PAE secretariat will:

(a) through letters to all AAA Fellows and Members, and via bulletins directed to undergraduate and graduate majors in anthropology via chairmen of all graduate anthropology departments, inform the profession of the Seattle events and the resulting Ad Hoc Group, invite their membership, seek preliminary information concerning their areas of main research and development interest in the realm of formal education, and seek from them suggestions as to nominees for election to the permanent Steering Committee;

(b) prepare a slate of 15-20 nominees, Fellows and Members among members of the Ad Hoc Group, at least one-half of whom are at this point, for this initial election, to be drawn from the various relevant minorities; eight of whom will be elected to the permanent Steering Committee;

(c) ballot the members of the Ad Hoc Group, who will vote for two nominees;

(d) announce the results, the four leading nominees being elected for two years, the next four for one year (thereafter, four persons to be elected each year for two-year terms);

(e) identify the elected chairmen of each of four working committees (below) or their designates, and notify them of their ex officio membership in the permanent Steering Committee;

(f) in doing these things, dissolve itself and turn the affairs of the Ad Hoc Group over to the permanent Steering Committee; January 15 was established as the date to have accomplished these tasks, but this in fact will not have occurred until February 1, due to unavoidable exigencies.

(2) The Ad Hoc Group determined that the permanent Steering Committee would elect from its members its chairman and such other officers as it may decide.

(3) The Ad Hoc Group established four working committees, invited each member present to affiliate with one of them, directed that each committee then or later elect a chairman and vice chairman, and directed that at least one of those two officers be drawn, at this point in time, from among the various relevant minorities; the four committees (listed alphabetically) are:

(a) Committee on research and development in anthropological studies of schools and their communities;

(b) Committee on research and development in minority curricula improvements (a committee constituted by earlier action by the minority caucus, open by invitation only);

(c) Committee on research and development in the selection and preparation of anthropologists and educational anthropologists;

(d) Committee on research and development in the selection and preparation of teachers and schools administrators, and program and curricula planning.

(4) Without formal action, the Ad Hoc Group informed itself of, and opted, as may be permitted, to use as initial channels of communication among anthropologists, two journals: the AAA Newsletter and Teaching Anthropology, a new journal to appear in the fall, subsidiary to Current Anthropology.

(5) The Ad Hoc Group determined that, subject to actions by the AAA and the Office of Education, and subject to organizational and administrative matters yet to be arranged, that AAA Program in Anthropology and Education be asked to act as a secretariat to the Ad Hoc Group until further arrangements may be made by the elected Steering Committee.

(6) . . . . By resolution the Ad Hoc Group petitioned the AAA Executive Board to 'give support and assistance' to . . . establishing a section in anthropology and education . . . .'"

Events subsequent to that initial report to the American Anthropological Association President unfolded as follows:

The election of the Steering Committee, Program staff serving as secretariat, went according to plan and was completed February 5, 1969. On February 7-9, 1969 and again on May 3-4, 1969, the elected and ex officio members of the Steering Committee met and, among other actions, took the following organizational actions:

Murray Wax was elected Chairman of the Steering Committee, Harry F. Wolcott was elected Vice Chairman;

Fred Gearing was appointed Executive Secretary of the Council, to serve at the pleasure of the Steering Committee;

the series of Standing Committees was extended and rationalized and Chairmen were appointed as required;

a Constitution was adopted, subject to ratification of the membership;

steps toward formal (legal) incorporation as a nonprofit association were begun;

a request was made to the Officers, Executive Board, and Fellows of the American Anthropological Association to recognize the Council as a section of the Association.

The structure of the Council's Standing Committees emerged as follows:

1. Research and development in anthropological studies of schools and community; Chairman, Jacquetta Burnett.

2. Research and development in cognitive and linguistic studies; Chairman, Nancy Modiano.

3. Research and development in evaluation of graduate and undergraduate education of anthropologists; Chairman, Gwen Neville.

4. Research and development in minority affairs; Co-chairmen, Diane Lewis and Octavio Romano.

5. Research and development in minority curriculum improvement; Chairman, Belvie Rooks.

6. Research and development in museological affairs; Chairman, Peter Sindell.

7. Research and development in preparation of educators and educational materials; Chairman, Edward Storey.

Through all these events, Program staff served as secretariat, thus to it fell all matters of organization, physical arrangements, and communication.

Finally, in November 1969, subsequent to the end of the Program proper:

the above committees 4 and 5 were merged, under the co-chairmanship of Diane Lewis and Anthony Lauria;

the office of Executive Secretary was dissolved; the office of Secretary was created and Ernestine Kyle appointed to that position;

Paul Bohannan (upon assuming the editorship of the American Anthropologist) resigned from the Steering Committee, and Fred Gearing was appointed in his place.

Beyond the very large proportion of Program energies invested in assisting the development of the Council, three other activities were undertaken bearing on the stimulation of future research and development efforts by anthropologists in education. First, the emergence of the Council had newly revealed the surprising extent of anthropological interests in this general area. It was felt that unusual efforts were required to help give these emergent interests reasonable focus. Particularly, it was imagined that very real structural hindrances to the concrete expression of those interests exist, that these reside in part in the very organization of universities and school systems, that these need to be recognized and acknowledged, and that a strategy or strategies to circumvent such hindrances and to draw upon existing strengths should be generated.

To these purposes Program staff and consultants designed two national planning activities to generate strategies which might ultimately bring about optimum articulations between first, the anthropological community and other educational researchers and second, the anthropological community and in-schools personnel. Proposals were drawn and subsequently funded by appropriate Branches of the U. S. Office of Education. The planning activities are currently underway by eight regionally drawn teams of anthropologists and educators, and the results will be reported to the Steering Committee of the Council on Anthropology and Education for possible action by that body.

Second, the emergence of the Council on Anthropology and Education effectively completed the assembling of a roster of anthropological interest and competence in educational research and development. This roster, embodied mainly in the organized membership records of the Council, now exists. The organization and dissemination of the information, among anthropologists and among potential "consumers" of anthropological energies are matters which fall to the Council.

Third, planning efforts continued toward the creation of university-based centers for anthropology and education: January 21-22, 1969 in Chicago (the Stone-Brandel Center), February 27-29 in New York City, April 3-5 in Las Vegas (meetings of the Southwestern Anthropological Association), and many lesser consultations in Washington. These directly resulted in efforts, now materially underway at the University of California, Berkeley and at the State University of New York at Buffalo, toward the creation of such centers.

Finally, one activity, which was generated by the Program but which was never a part of Program activities proper, should be briefly named. The May 1968 Conference on Anthropology and Education had recommended the creation of a bibliography of anthropological studies of schools and other related research. In November 1968, Murray Wax agreed to assume this responsibility and with the assistance of Harry Lindquist to complete this bibliography. (This work is being supported by funds originally granted by the Wenner-Gren Foundation in supplementary support of the May 1968 Conference, but not used at that time.) Publication has been arranged, upon completion.

IV. CONCLUSION

The Officers and Board of the American Anthropological Association through this Program set out to discover the extent of interest among anthropologists in educational research and development and to initiate activities which would facilitate the Association membership in those interests. The new Council on Anthropology and Education is a tangible expression of the extent of those anthropological interests and is also the main national vehicle through which those interests can be served into the future.

The development of the Council on Anthropology and Education over this brief period since November brings about this paradox: anthropology, which among social science disciplines has been by all odds the least involved in educational research and development activities, is now that social science which is potentially most involved. This discipline's early impact on the schools can be dramatic.

In short, the developments we report here are accomplished fact, and the long-term effects appear to be large. The Association through this Program could not, solely by its initiatives and energies, have caused the Council on Anthropology and Education to emerge. On the other hand, given the fact that the relevant professional interests of many anthropologists did chance to "surface" at this time, the Council probably would not have emerged without the critical help this Program was in a position to provide. In that limited sense, the Council, with its potential for bringing about a more effective articulation between anthropologists and the research and developmental needs of the schools, is the product of this Program and its main result.

Future educational research and development work by anthropologists will be partially shaped by anthropological research purposes. Anthropologists in substantial and increasing numbers are working in complex societies. This seems to have been inevitable from the beginning since it is evident that, insofar as the discipline's range of comparison is extended, its theories become more powerful and its methods more nearly adequate. This seems to have been inevitable, too, because anthropology has always been a humane discipline, and all men, including our long-term special acquaintances, the world's tribals, tend toward increasingly complex urbanized life; thus work in complex societies is humanly relevant.

This future educational research and development will be partially shaped, too, by traditions of anthropological theory and method. The central tendencies in those traditions are well exemplified in the papers and discussions of the 1968 National Conference and in the five symposia presented in the 1969 Annual Meeting of the Association, and are evident in the selected abstracts included in this report. Two matters require brief special mention:

First, activities under this Program have made it evident to many anthropologists that, given research interest in complex societies, research in formal education settings provides a peculiarly critical point of entry in terms of anthropological theory. Schools are the scene in complex societies of much of the cultural transmission which occurs and fails to occur; here the younger generation is socialized to life in large groups. Cultural transmission is a matter of long-term anthropological concern. Schools, furthermore, are seen by many anthropologists as prototype institutions; here generic forces in the society at large (as scale) appear to be powerfully at work and unusually conspicuous. Thus schools provide relatively "graspable" entities within the unwieldy larger society so alien to most anthropologists.

Anthropological theory is, relative to most of behavioral science, ambitiously integrative; that stems from the discipline's long-standing comparative bent; it is frequently expressed as a strain for the widest contextualization. Anthropology does and must "bracket off" very large realms of phenomena, thus to focus precisely on less, but it does so nervously. Program activities have shown this general tendency to carry strongly into research by anthropologists in educational settings, with attendant potential profits within the wider body of educational research.

Second, Program activities have also newly revealed to many that schools provide a critical point of entry in terms of method. In research in formal education settings, there can be pure research as that is appropriate, but in schools there can also, and critically, be intervention and therefore truly experimental research. "Innovation" is virtually a school mystique, thus access for intervention-research is relatively open. Anthropological theory, which has leaned very heavily on the strengths but also the weaknesses of comparison, needs experiment.

Anthropological observation is, relative to much of behavioral science, ambitiously direct. Anthropology does and must observe indirectly, via instruments which catch up various reflections of phenomenal reality rather than the phenomena themselves, but it does this nervously.

Program activities have shown that this general tendency has continued where anthropologists have set upon research in educational settings, with attendant potential profits within the wider body of educational research.

Reciprocally, future anthropological research and development activity in the schools will surely have substantial effects on the body of anthropological theory and method, especially as these bear on complex societies. This, of course, will be most welcome.